

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6112
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 SANTIAGO 6786

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OREP (YATRON/WOLFF), SHUM PINT PGOV EGEN CI
SUBJECT: VISITS OF CODELS YATRON/WOLFF

1. SUMMARY. THIS MESSAGE COVERS ACTIVITIES OF CODEL YATRON AUGUST 15-17, EXCEPT FINAL STATEMENT AND PRESS CONFERENCE (SEPTTEL). SYMBOLIC HIGHPOINT WAS THREE HOUR LUNCHEON AUGUST 16 HOSTED BY PRESIDENT PINOCHET. CODEL WOLFF MEMBERS ALSO ATTENDED LUNCHEON AND FOREIGN POLICY AND ECONOMIC BRIEFINGS; THEIR NARCOTICS-RELATED ACTIVITIES WILL BE REPORTED SEPTTEL. GOC, NOT YET JADED BY SERIES OF HIGH LEVEL VISITS, DID ITS BEST TO PRESENT INTERNAL SITUATION IN FAVORABLE LIGHT AND TO GAIN SUPPORT FOR CHILE'S EXTERNAL CONCERNS (PRIMARILY PERU). MEETINGS WITH DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION LEADERS AND CARDINAL SILVA PROVIDED SOMEWHAT DIVERGENT VIEWS OF CHILEAN REALITY. CONGRESSIONAL STAFF MEMBERS AND EMBASSY OFFICERS ALSO MET WITH RELATIVES OF "DIS-APPEARED" PERSONS. MEMBERS OF BOTH CODELS CONVEYED SINCERE INTEREST IN GOC AND NON-OFFICIAL EXPOSITIONS AND PROBED AT APPARENT INCONSISTENCIES. HUMAN RIGHTS
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ISSUES DID NOT PLAY AS LARGE A PART IN THESE DISCUSSIONS AS THEY HAD DURING THE PRECEDING VISITS OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN AND AMBASSADOR LOWENSTEIN. END SUMMARY.

2. PINOCHET LUNCH. THE LUNCH FORMAT WAS INFORMAL. ALL ELEVEN CONGRESSMEN, FIVE STAFFERS, THE CHARGE AND HALF

A DOZEN SENIOR CHILEAN OFFICIALS ATTENDED. APART FROM INITIAL PLEASANTRIES, NO FORMAL PRESENTATIONS WERE MADE. INSTEAD, A SERIES OF INDIVIDUAL AND SMALL GROUP CONVERSATIONS WERE HELD BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER THE LUNCHEON. WHILE SPECIFIC REPORTING IS IMPOSSIBLE UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, GENERALLY CHILEAN OFFICIALS ATTEMPTED TO EXPLAIN THE PAST AND PRESENT CHILEAN POLICY IN RESPONSE TO QUERIES BY THE MEMBERS.

3. COUNTRY TEAM BRIEFING. HAVING JUST COME FROM PERU, CONGRESSMEN WERE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN THE PROSPECTS FOR A NEW PERU-CHILE WAR AND THE EXTENT OF THE CURRENT US EMBARGO ON ARMS SALES TO CHILE. THEY WERE ALSO ASKED ABOUT THE EXTENT OF SUPPORT FOR THE PRESENT REGIME (PARTICULARLY AMONG YOUTH) AND THE DEGREE OF CENSORSHIP. OTHER QUESTIONS FOCUSED ON THE ECONOMIC SITUATION (UNEMPLOYMENT, INFLATION, BALANCE OF PAYMENTS) AND HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AND RECENT IMPROVEMENTS.

4. CHILEAN FOREIGN POLICY. FOLLOWING A BRIEF WELCOME BY FOREIGN MINISTER CARVAJAL, DIRECTOR OF BILATERAL RELATIONS PABLO VALDEZ GAVE A GENERAL OVERVIEW OF HOW CHILE LOOKS AT THE WORLD. VALDES SET THE STAGE FOR HIS REMARKS BY NOTING THAT CHILE IS A SMALL BUT PROUD COUNTRY WHICH RESPECTS AND

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ADMIRE THE US BUT EXPECTS OTHERS TO LIKEWISE RESPECT CHILE AND ITS INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICIES. HE SAID THAT CHILEANS ARE NOT AFRAID TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS AND THAT THE GOC WELCOMES AND ENCOURAGES VISITORS. VALEES'S BASIC POINTS, AS THEY HAD BEEN WITH TODMAN, WERE THAT THE PROCESS OF DETENTE BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS DOES NOT PAY ENOUGH ATTENTION TO THE INTERESTS OR PARTICIPATION OF THE THIRD WORLD AND THAT WHILE THE US IS PURSUING A POLICY OF DETENTE IN GOOD FAITH ACROSS THE BOARD THE SOVIET UNION IS PURSUING ITS IDEOLOGICAL OBJECTIVES BY FORCE (CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA) AND OTHERWISE IN MANY PARTS OF THE THIRD WORLD. PERU IS THE COUNTRY OF GREATEST CONCERN TO THE CHILEANS AND THE GOC BELIEVES THAT THE SOVIETS HOPE TO USE PERU TO OVERTHROW THE PRESENT CHILEAN GOVERNMENT. FACED WITH THIS THREAT THE GOC IS ATTEMPTING TO MAINTAIN ALL CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION WITH PERU AND TO EXPAND VARIOUS TYPES OF CULTURAL, TECHNICAL AND ECONOMICAL INTERCHANGE.

5. CHILEAN ECONOMIC POLICY. BRIEFING BY FINANCE MINISTER SERGIO DE CASTRO PARALLELED CLOSELY HIS BRIEFING OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN IN THE PREVIOUS WEEK. DE CASTRO NOTED THAT THE PROBLEMS WHICH CONFRONTED THE PRESENT ECONOMIC TEAM ANTEDATED THE CHAOS

OF ALLENDE BY MANY YEARS. IN THE 1930'S AND 40'S, THE GOVERNMENT
HAD ADOPTED A POLICY OF IMPORT SUBSTITUTION, NOT
REALIZING THAT CHILE'S LIMITED MARKET, PAUCITY OF ENERGY SOURCES
AND RAW MATERIALS DID NOT GIVE CHILE A COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE IN THESE
AREAS. THE RESULTENT CHILEAN PRODUCT ACCORDINGLY WAS USUALLY
SHODDY AND MORE HIGHLY PRICED THAN WHAT WAS AVAILABLE INTERNATIONALLY

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HIGH TARIFFS ON ALL BUT FOOD AND OTHER BASIC NECESSITIES, COMBINED
WITH DISTORTIONS IN THE EXCHANGE RATE, FOSTERED THIS ARTIFICIAL
DOMESTIC GROWTH, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME DISABLING THE NON-MINERAL
EXPORT POTENTIAL OF THIS ONCE-TRADING NATION. MOREOVER, CHEAP FOOD
IMPORTS DAMAGED CHILEAN AGRICULTURE, IN MUCH OF WHICH CHILE POSSESSED
A TRUE COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE. STATE ENTERPRISES SOON DOMINATED

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THE ECONOMY, SUFFOCATING PRIVATE ENTERPRISE WHOSE ENTREPRENEURIAL
SPIRIT WAS ALREADY WEAKENED BY PROTECTION AND GOVERNMENT SUBSIDY.
FINALLY, CHILE'S STANDARD OF LIVING WAS RAISED TO A POINT BEYOND
WHAT ITS NATURAL ENDOWMENT WOULD PERMIT, THROUGH A COMBINATION OF
FOREIGN AID, ACCUMULATED INTERNATIONAL DEBT, AND THE USE OF THE PRINT

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ING PRESS TO EXPAND THE MONEY SUPPLY. THE PRESENT ECONOMIC TEAM BE-
SIDES BALANCING CHILE'S INTERNATIONAL ACCOUNTS, ACCUMULATING RESERVES

,
AND EARNING FOR THIS ONCE "NATION OF ELEGANT BEGGERS" AN ENVIABLE
CREDIT RATING WITH INTERNATIONAL BANKS, HAS MADE SIZABLE INROADS INTO
ENDEMIC CHILEAN INFLATION. TARIFFS ARE BEING PROGRESSIVELY LOWERED,
FORCING CHILEAN MANUFACTURERS FOR THE FIRST TIME TO
FACE COMPETITION. TO BE SURE, DOMESTIC COSTS HAVE

BEEN HIGH AS THE GOVERNMENT SYSTEMATICALLY TURNED OFF THE TAPS OF MONETARY EMISSION WHICH HAD BEEN FEEDING INFLATION. UNEMPLOYMENT REACHED RECORD HIGHS IN 1975-76. A DRASTIC REDUCTION IN DEMAND HELPED TO BALANCE CHILE'S INTERNATIONAL PAYMENTS. MOREOVER, IT COMPELLED PRODUCERS WHO NEVER BEFORE HAD STIRRED OUT OF THE DOMESTIC MARKET, TO BEGIN TO EXPORT. TODAY, THESE NON-TRADITIONAL EXPORTS ARE RISING, GIVING PROMISE OF EXPORT-LED GROWTH. UNEMPLOYMENT IS FALLING, CONFIDENTIAL

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PRODUCTION IS RISING, AND REAL WAGES ARE RISING IF ANYTHING FASTER THAN THE GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT. DE CASTRO'S REMARKS WERE EXTREMELY WELL RECEIVED. ONE CONGRESSMAN WENT SO FAR AS TO SAY THAT THE US SHOULD IMPORT DE CASTRO IN ORDER TO HELP STRAIGHTEN OUT OUR OWN ECONOMIC SITUATION.

6. THE THREAT FROM PERU. DEFENSE MINISTER BRADY DEVOTED HIS REMARKS ALMOST ENTIRELY TO THE THREAT FROM PERU. HE DESCRIBED AT LENGTH THE AMOUNTS AND VARIETY OF WEAPONS ACQUIRED BY PERU FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND ELSEWHERE, INCLUDING THE US, AND THE ALMOST TOTAL ISOLATION OF CHILE FROM SOURCES OF EITHER NEW EQUIPMENT OR SPARE PARTS. HE STRESSED THAT AN ARMS IMBALANCE HAS BEEN ALLOWED TO DEVELOP BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES SINCE 1973, E.G., THE PERUVIAN ADVANTAGE IN TANKS IS ROUGHLY 500 TO 50. HE POINTED OUT THAT 80 PERCENT OF PERU'S POWER WAS COMPRESSED LIKE A COILED SPRING IN SOUTHERN PERU NEAR THE CHILEAN BORDER. THIS IS OBVIOUSLY AN OFFENSIVE RATHER THAN A DEFENSIVE PROFILE. LIKE VALDES AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE, HE NOTED THE SOVIET INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES AND STATED THAT A NEW CHILE-PERU WAR, WHICH COULD BECOME A REAL POSSIBILITY BY 1979, WILL NOT BE SIMPLY A PERU-CHILE AFFAIR. BY WAY OF MEDERATING A GENERALLY FOREBODING PRESENTATION, BRADY EMPHASIZED THAT RELATIONS AT THE TOP LEVELS OF THE TWO MILITARIES REMAIN CORDIAL. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ON HOW CHILE VIEWS THE NEW PANAMA TREATY, BRADY SAID THAT AS A MILITARY MAN HIS MAIN CONCERN IS THAT THE CONDITIONS AND FEES FOR USING THE CANAL SHUULD BE STABLE AND CERTAIN.

7. MEETING WITH RELATIVES OF "DISAPPEARED" PERSONS. CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE'S SKLAR AND CONTROL OFFICER CUTTER, ACCOMPANIED BY TWO EMBOFFS, MET WITH A CONFIDENTIAL

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DOZEN RELATIVES OF MISSING PERSONS FOR OVER AN HOUR AUGUST 16. MOST OF THE MISSING HAD DISAPPEARED DURING

1976 AND HAD BEEN ACTIVE LEADERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY; SEVERAL HAD SERVED TERMS IN THE PRE-COUP CONGRESS. THE RELATIVES EACH DESCRIBED THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH THEIR RELATIVES HAD BEEN DETAINED AND THE LEGAL MEASURES THEY HAD PURSUED TO SECURE INFORMATION FROM THE GOC ABOUT THEM--IN EVERY CASE WITHOUT SATISFACTORY RESULT. THEY URGED THE CODEL TO INSIST THAT THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT COMPLY WITH ITS SEVERAL SPECIFIC PUBLIC PROMISES TO INVESTIGATE FULLY, AND MAKE PUBLIC THE EXPLANATION OF WHAT HAPPENED TO THE MISSING PERSONS. SKLAR AND CUTTER LISTENED SYMPATHETICALLY AND PROMISED TO BRING THE GROUP'S CONCERN TO THE ATTENTION OF THE CONGRESSMEN.

8. CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE. CODEL YATRON MET AUGUST 17 WITH MANUEL VALDES, CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFEDERATION OF THE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE OF CHILE FOR AN HOUR-LONG BRIEFING. BEGINNING WITH THE CONVENTIONAL CHILEAN EXPLANATION OF HOW BAD THINGS HAD BEEN UNDER ALLENDE, VALDES NOTED THAT PART OF THE PROBLEM HAD BEEN THE VERY LARGE ROLE PLAYED BY THE STATE IN THE ECONOMY. THE NEW REGIME IS TRYING TO TURN THE ECONOMY AROUND ALONG MARKET PRINCIPLES. THE GENERAL GOALS OF THE ECONOMIC TEAM ENJOY THE STRONG SUPPORT OF THE CHILEAN PRIVATE SECTOR, DISAGREEMENT WITH THE ECONOMIC TEAM BEING PRIMARILY A MATTER OF STYLE AND EMPHASIS. FOR EXAMPLE, MILK PRODUCERS HAD SUDDENLY READ IN THE PAPERS THAT THEIR SUBSIDIES HAD BEEN WITHDRAWN. THE CODEL AGREED WITH VALDES THAT IN ALL COUNTRIES THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD CONSULT WITH THE PRIVATE SECTOR BEFORE TAKING ARBITRARY ACTIONS. VALDES CLOSED WITH A PRESENTATION OF THE SOCIAL CONCERN OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN SUCH AREAS AS FOOD RETAILING AND TRAINING THE CHILEAN WORK
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FORCE. HE SAID THE PRIVATE SECTOR IS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO HANDOUTS, A NOTE WHICH APPEARED TO STRIKE A RESPONSIVE CORD AMONG THE CODEL. IN THANKING THE CODEL FOR THEIR PRESENCE, VALDES SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE SUCH VISITS SUPPLEMENTED BY MORE FOREIGN INVESTMENT, SOMETHING WHICH SO FAR HAD SHOWN A DISAPPOINTING PERFORMANCE.

9. DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION LEADERS. THE CODEL MET WITH 11 DEMOCRATIC LEADERS WHO EMPHASIZED (A) THE LACK OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN CHILE, (B) THE NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF PRESENT ECONOMIC POLICY WITH RESPECT TO UNEMPLOYMENT AND INCOME DISTRIBUTION, AND (C) THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS. IN RESPONSE TO A CONGRESSIONAL QUESTION HOW THE CODEL

COULD HELP, THEY URGED PRESSURE ON THE GOC FOR AN
EARLY RESTORATION OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS AND A SHORTER
TIME PERIOD FOR RETURN TO CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT THAN
THAT SET FORTH JULY 9 BY PRESIDENT PINOCHET.

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10. CARDINAL SILVA. CARDINAL SILVA, ASSISTED BY
FATHER PRECHT OF THE VICARIATE, GAVE A VERY UPBEAT
ASSESSMENT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION--SO MUCH
SO THAT HE SUBSEQUENTLY HAD TO BACK OFF SLIGHTLY
IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS. HIS BASIC MESSAGE WAS
THAT THE SITUATION IN CHILE IS NOT AS BAD AS IT
APPEARS FROM OUTSIDE AND THAT IT IS GETTING BETTER
AT AN ACCELERATING RATE. AT FIRST HE SEEMED TO BE
SAYING THAT HE EXPECTED ALL EMERGENCY POWERS TO BE
ELIMINATED ON SEPTEMBER 11 THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE COP, AND THAT THE COUNTRY WOULD THEN RETURN
TO NORMAL LEGAL PROCESSES. HE THEN MODIFIED THIS
HOPE BY SAYING THAT, AT A MINIMUM, A LESSER DEGREE
OF EMERGENCY POWERS WILL REPLACE THE CURRENT STATE
OF SIEGE AND THAT THIS WILL BE AN IMPORTANT STEP
TOWARD FULL DUE PROCESS. IN TALKING TO THIS ISSUE
AND TO SUBSEQUENT QUESTIONS ABOUT PINOCHET'S
ELECTION SCHEDULE, THE CARDINAL ACKNOWLEDGED THE
CONTRIBUTION OF EXTERNAL PRESSURE BUT STRESSED THE
PRIMARY IMPORTANCE OF INTERNAL FACTORS: THE SOLUTION
TO CHILEAN PROBLEMS MUST BE A CHILEAN ONE. ASKED
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ABOUT THE NUMBER OF "DISAPPEARED" PERSONS PRECHT
CITED THE VICARIATE'S OVERLAPPING LISTS OF 520 AND
700 PLUS.

11. IN ADDITION TO THE FORMAL SCHEDULE, SEPARATE
MEETINGS WERE HELD BY REP GILMAN WITH LEADERS OF
THE SANTIAGO JEWISH COMMUNITY, BY REP FINDLEY WITH
THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, AND BY REP GIAIMO
WITH MEMBERS OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY.
(PDC).

12. COMMENT. THE 11 CONGRESSMEN AND THE TWO
CODELS REPRESENTED A WIDE SPECTRUM OF ATTITUDES
TOWARD CHILE AND US POLICY. THE MIX OF OFFICIAL
AND NON-OFFICIAL MEETINGS PROVIDED SOMETHING FOR
EVERYONE BUT, MORE IMPORTANTLY, SERVED TO LEAVEN
THE MORE EXTREME PRECONCEPTIONS OF THE MEMBERS.
THE GOC WELCOMED THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPALIN ITS
POSITION TO THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND
THE PERUVIAN THREAT.
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